

THE INSTITUTE OF MARXIST-LENINIST STUDIES
AT THE CC OF THE PLA

DECISION

PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE PLA

THE DEEPENING OF THE REVOLUTIONIZATION OF THE LIFE OF THE PARTY AND THE COUNTRY

**The 9th Plenum
of the CC of the PLA**

(January 22-23, 1990)

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DECISION

OF THE 9th PLENUM OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PLA

The 9th Plenum of the CC of the Party met on the 22nd and 23rd of January 1990. On the basis of the speech which Comrade Ramiz Alia delivered, it discussed the problems which had emerged in carrying out the decisions of the 8th Plenum and defined the tasks for the further revolutionization of life of the Party and of the whole country through the further deepening of socialist democracy, the enhancement of the role of the working masses and the perfection of the economic relations.

At this meeting the Central Committee made a thorough analysis of current developments in the countries of Eastern Europe, defining its attitude towards them.

The Central Committee observed:

1. The political changes which have occurred in Eastern Europe, in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Bul-

garia and Rumania, brought rightist forces to power. The bourgeoisie and international reaction are seeking and working so that anything which might recall socialism is destroyed there. In the bourgeois propaganda the socialist ideal has been proclaimed anachronistic. Reaction is presenting communism as a spectre which is a threaten not for the bourgeoisie but also for the people.

The counter-revolutionary process in the countries of the East has been accomplished through the urging and intervention of western reaction and the Soviet Union. But it has been supported also by the masses of working people who have become disillusioned by the revisionist rule, by its bureaucracy and violence and the economic stagnation. The worst of it is that the peoples of those countries see these phenomena as products of the socialist system, of Marxism-Leninism.

In the titanic struggle against revisionism our Party quite rightly has concentrated on tearing off the «socialist» disguise of revisionism, on unmasking its misrepresentations of Marxism. The Albanian communists understood the situation and struggled with all their forces and means to make people understand

the danger of compromising socialism and the ideology and the revolutionary policy. Nevertheless, the tragedy occurred. This tragedy grieves us but of course does not make us despair.

Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that one of the main sources which influenced the birth and development of revisionism was bureaucracy and liberalism. Now that more than three decades have passed since the time when revisionism appeared, a more profound analysis of this phenomenon would allow us to define correctly those mechanisms of the socialist system which ought to have played a greater role in strengthening it and which were neglected.

In the Soviet Union they understood that bureaucracy was growing and that it represented a great danger. But they fought bureaucracy there not by means of its opposite, that is by enhancing the role of the masses and strengthening socialist democracy, but through the strengthening and perfecting of the administration, through the setting of norms for everything in the activity of the party, the state and social relations, through the increase of vertical centralism.

The Soviets fought liberalism, too, mainly with administrative methods. They

opposed it with dogma but not through confrontation of ideas and arguments, opposed it with general principles and not with the solution of problems. This created the conditions in which individuals and groups of people, especially from the ranks of the intelligentsia became cool towards socialism. This is where the bourgeoisie found the dissidents and the revisionist cliques found their social base.

2. It is the aim of the international bourgeoisie, including the Soviet leadership, that those counter-revolutionary processes which have occurred in Eastern Europe should be carried out in Albania, too. To this end numerous pressures have been and will be exerted. Notwithstanding that their demands are camouflaged with slogans about democracy and human rights, etc., their objective is the overthrow of the people's state power and the liquidation of our independence, freedom and socialist victories.

The Plenum of the Central Committee stresses that the Albanian people will defend the freedom and independence, they have won at the cost of bloodshed, and socialism as their most sacred possession, with determination, with every means and without any hesitation. Our people

have chosen their own road of development and allow no one to interfere in their internal affairs. Our people and no one else know what must be done to ensure that the process of socialist construction advances unceasingly. The Albanian people are the masters of Albania; they and they alone decide their own destiny.

3. The socialist construction in our country has made giant strides ahead. Now on a broad front we have entered a new phase, the phase of intensive development, in which the qualitative factors emerge more and more as primary. These factors make essential to improve the work of the Party, the State and the economy and enhance the role of the masses so that they fully respond to the requirements of the time and the conditions created, strengthen the positions of socialism and carry forward the victories achieved.

Bearing in mind the tasks which the 8th Plenum of the CC laid down, assessing the achievements, as well as the requirements of the present time and drawing lessons from the events in the countries of the East, with the aim that the socialist continuity, the freedom and the in-

dependence of the Homeland must be guaranteed, the 9th Plenum of the CC unanimously

DECIDED:

I.

The internal political and economic situation must be strengthened so as to be able to cope with external pressures, whether political, military or economic. It must be explained to the masses that, as the events in Eastern Europe show, the bourgeoisie and international reaction aim to destroy socialism and restore the order of oppression and exploitation, to liquidate the freedom won and eliminate our national independence and sovereignty.

The fundamental tasks which face the Party at the present time are:

1. The political and propaganda work of the Party must be improved and intensified. It is essential that our people understand the essence of this struggle which is waged today against socialism, in general, and our country, in particular. Behind demagogic slogans such as those about the defence of human rights, political pluralism, the development of demo-

cracy and so on, lurks the counter-revolutionary aim of reaction and the bourgeoisie to rob the people of their freedom and the rights won at the cost of so much bloodshed and sacrifice.

Improvement of the political work of the Party requires that its links with the working masses of town and countryside must be increased and extended, rejecting any manifestation of formalism, officiousness and bureaucracy. In particular, the organizations of the masses, the Democratic Front, the LYUA, the TUA and the WUA, as well as the other social organizations must be activized better.

The press, radio and TV and the propaganda of the Party must radically improve their work, so that the word of the Party reaches the masses more clearly and more quickly and is transmitted not through general slogans and phraseology but through convincing understandable arguments.

The most responsible and qualified cadres of the Party, as well as specialists and activists of various fields must take an active part in their propaganda activity.

2. Revolutionary vigilance must be enhanced in order to cope with the various pressures, slanders and provocations com-

mitted by enemies of socialism and our Homeland.

Each party committee and organization must consider and decide for itself how the measures for the strengthening of vigilance in the sector where it operates should be concretized in the existing conditions.

3. The efforts and mobilization of the working people to accomplish the tasks of the plan in industry, agriculture, construction, transport, culture, etc., must be increased. In particular, attention must be paid to the export plans which must be fulfilled on time and with quality. In the conditions created the spirit of frugality and innovation, reduction of costs and increase of productivity must be encouraged. The communists must be in the vanguard everywhere and set an example for all the working people.

The plans which are linked with the food and clothing of the people must be fulfilled. Nothing can justify the shortages of vegetables, milk and even meat on the market of any city. The decisions which have been taken about the collective garden, about increasing meat production, etc., must be applied creatively and with persistence. The same thing must be

done in regard to the products of the light and the food-stuffs industries. The fulfilment of targets in these fields must be understood as an issue of political importance, therefore no negligence can be permitted either by the central organs or by those of the base.

II

The life of the Party and the whole country must be further revolutionized. In this context the strengthening of the Party must constitute a permanent task, because the Party is the leading force of the country with which the present and future of socialism and the freedom and independence of the Homeland are linked.

The safeguarding of the leading role of the Party of Labour is a basic condition to continue the socialist construction in Albania.

In the conditions of our country the slogans of the international bourgeoisie about pluralism of parties are a call for the revival of Balli Kombëtar and Legality or for the creation of new anti-popular, anti-democratic and anti-national organizations. This would lead to the weakening of our national unity, to the

loss of independence and the destruction of socialism.

The absence of many parties does not mean the absence of democracy. Our reality itself demonstrates this. Our Party, which has been nurtured with the wisdom, knowledge and opinion of the people through various ways, and especially through the direct participation of the working people in political life, in the working out and implementation of plans for the economic and cultural development of the country, through discussion with them of every problem which interests the people, has created conditions for the all-round enhancement of the role of the masses and socialist democracy.

Nevertheless, the question of the line of the masses, of enhancing the role of the working people of town and countryside in the whole life of the country, which constitutes the essence of socialist democracy, must always be in the centre of attention of the organs of the Party and the state. Continuous improvement of these things is the basis for keeping alive and enhancing the revolutionary spirit.

The fundamental tasks in this field are:

1. The meetings of the basic organizations of the Party should, as a rule, be

open, giving any non-party member of the collective the possibility to participate if he wishes. This creates conditions for the activity and decisions of the basic organizations and the communists to be known directly by the masses, and hence, for their effectiveness and results to be followed. The holding of open meetings helps them to become schools of education both for the communists and for the working masses, for all who are linked with the cause of the people and socialism.

2. The principle of elections should be extended not only in regard to those cadres mentioned in the Constitution of the Republic, the Statute of the Party and the statutes of organizations of the masses and social or economic organizations, but also for leading cadres of enterprises, factories, various institutes and institutions, schools and so on. Without ensuring the approval of the respective collective no cadre of these categories can be appointed by high organs.

The working collectives which have the right to elect also have the right to recall, i.e. to dismiss any cadre from his job. This measure must be confirmed by the superior organ within a period from 10 to 15 days.

3. Extensive use must be made of competition as a way to appoint cadres and specialists, especially in the cultural, educational and scientific institutions, in the press, the television service and other fields. Each government department or institution must define the necessary regulations according to the nature of the job and its ideo-professional requirements.

The Political Bureau is charged with the task of defining within February 1990 which cadres should be elected and should recommend the way to act both in this case and in the case of competition.

4. The mandate of elected cadres should be limited as follows: for the secretaries of the basic organizations and bureaus of the Party up to four to five successive years; for the members of party committees and people's councils of districts for two to three successive terms; for the deputies to the People's Assembly and the members of the Central Committee of the Party for the period of two to three legislatures or congresses. In each instance for the third mandate the candidate must have secured at least 2/3 of the votes above an alternative candidate.

The practice of the limitation of the re-election of one person is recommended

also for the organizations of the masses and the literary, cultural and artistic associations. It is also recommended for the Council of Ministers that it should define the term for which the directors of economic enterprises can remain in the same post. The assemblies of the agricultural cooperatives also can define the same thing for their cadres.

At the end of each legislature, at each conference or congress of the Party or social organizations, at least one third of the composition of the elected organs must be renewed.

5. The procedure of elections for the organs of power must be improved both in the phase of the presentation and discussion of candidatures and in the final stages. Thus, in order to decide which candidate will be presented, the persons whom the social organizations propose must be discussed. Of these the Democratic Front can present one or more candidates for discussion for a seat as it sees fit. After the discussion and the selection of the candidates, the people can decide that one or two candidates for a seat as councillor or deputy to the People's Assembly can be presented on the ballot paper.

The respective state organs must take

measures to ensure that in every instance the conditions are created and the law applied for secrecy of the ballot.

In regard to elections in the Party, too, the practice should be pursued of presenting and voting on more candidates than the necessary number.

6. In order to strengthen the struggle against bureaucracy measures must be taken to further reinforce the workers' control over everybody and everything. All the formal restrictions and so-called regulations which, in fact, have become obstacles preventing the workers' control from operating more effectively must be eliminated. The workers' control must be given full competences so that the voice and action of the working class is decisive in the struggle against alien manifestations, against bureaucracy and liberalism, against breaches of discipline etc.

The Secretariat of the Central Committee is charged with working out the necessary, recommendations so that this important organism, workers' control, which must be set in motion by the TUA, is transformed into a revolutionizing force with decision-making powers.

III

For improvement of our socialist legislation

The successes in this field are well-known. Our legislation is completely constitutional, democratic and popular. Our laws express the interests of the people in content and in application.

Proceeding from the need to improve this legislation in conformity with the rise in the level of culture, consciousness and juridical education of the working people, the 9th Plenum recommends the following measures:

1. Measures should be taken to guarantee citizens legal defence both in the process of interrogation and in court, in every case when they demand this, in conformity with the rights which the Constitution recognizes to them.

2. The institution of legal rehabilitation by court order and release on parole, as forms of the exercise of justice, should be studied and applied for certain categories of penal acts and people who have been convicted but are subsequently distinguished for good behaviour in society.

3. It should be recommended to the state organs that, bearing in mind the extension of the state activity, the increasing difficulty of codifying the legal activity, etc., the Ministry of Justice should be recreated.

4. The law on village, precinct and city courts should be re-examined and improved, defining them as social organisms without the right to pass sentences of a penal character.

All these matters should be prepared and submitted to the coming meeting of the People's Assembly.

IV

On relations with the outside world

The Plenum assessed the achievements of the foreign policy of the Party and the Albanian State. It confirmed that the diplomatic and political role of our country in the Balkan Peninsula and the Mediterranean region has been enhanced. The authority of Albania as a country with all-round stability is unshakeable. The foreign policy has become an important factor to guarantee the socialist victories and carry them forward.

Albania has pursued and will continue to pursue a policy of peace and friendly cooperation with other countries. This has been and will continue to be its line even in the conditions created after the events in Eastern Europe.

We have not wanted and do not want isolation which has never been the political line of the Party of Labour or the Albanian State. The enemies of Albania have wanted it and will continue to do so. Therefore, at all times our stand in connection with the outside world must be active both in political relations and cooperation and also in economic and cultural cooperation.

For the further development of relations between our country and the outside world, the Plenum decided the following measures:

1. Work must be done to strengthen relations with the neighbour countries and the whole Balkan region. The new developments in the region must be followed attentively and all the necessary conditions must be prepared for the full accomplishment of the aims of the meeting of foreign ministers of the countries of our Peninsula, which will be held in Tirana this year.

2. The developments in Europe, the multi-party political, economic and cultural activities which are taking place there must be followed carefully and the respective stands must be defined bearing in mind the national interests of our country.

3. Efforts must be made to strengthen the international positions of socialist Albania in the world, while respecting the recognized principles of equality, respect of the freedom, independence and sovereignty of each, non-interference in internal affairs and cooperation with mutual benefit.

The PSRA will maintain links with any State which responds with friendship to the friendship which we offer.

V

For the invigoration of the motive forces of socialist production

The 9th Plenum of the Central Committee was informed about the main recommendations of several studies conducted by the economic and scientific organisms of the country according to the in-

structions of the leadership of the Party about the improvement of socialist relations of production. It considers all these recommendations useful. The Plenum decided that the measures proposed in the recommendations should be discussed in greater detail at a meeting of the Political Bureau.

In the field of the economy the situation is stable and the developments are good. Its mechanism has ensured the progress of the productive forces, has opened the way for the creation and strengthening of a multi-branch structure, has harmonized the economic aspects and the social aspects and has supported the progressive tendencies of the development of the life of the country. In order to carry forward the victories achieved in the conditions of the intensive stage of the development of the economy, the Plenum instructed:

1. The competences of the base in the field of economic and financial planning should be expanded, radically transferring managerial activities from the centre to the districts and from the districts to the enterprises, cooperatives and institutions. the Council of Ministers should consider and decide whether the experiment con-

ducted in the planning of agriculture should be extended to other sectors, for example, to the food-stuffs industry, some sectors of light industry, to the mines, transport, communal services, trade, etc.

2. The executive committees in the districts should operate actively for the progress of production, services for the people and social-cultural activities. As a rule, the state plan should set out only the tasks for districts and the base. They should have their own budgets for income, too, they should have competences to manoeuvre with the funds for investments under the limit* for the sectors of production, construction and transport, as well as for all investments over and under the limit for education, culture, trade and communal services. Districts ought to have the right to benefit from the over-fulfilment of targets or the saving of costs by enterprises with activities within their territories.

3. Efficient forms of the organization and growth of production must be studied

* The limit of one million leks is set for investments which the districts themselves can make, while investments of over 1 million leks can be made only with the authority of the Government of the Republic.

and applied. Wherever it is reasonable and beneficial, further divisions of enterprises or cooperatives and reorganizations of their sectors can be carried out. Such forms of organization as work with penalties and bonuses for under- and over-fulfilment of the plan, group contracts, piece work etc., can be introduced in production.

4. In order to open the way to the creative initiative and self-action of the working masses, the sphere of operation of economic methods and levers must be expanded. It is considered that the decisive step in this field should be the creation of economic possibilities for the enterprises to effectively enjoy relative independence in conformity with the laws of development of socialist economy.

The management of the activity of enterprises with independent accounting should be improved by studying separately, with unified criteria, the activities which will be financed by its own income, as distinct from those which will be financed by the state budget. The independent accounting of the enterprise must create possibilities for the financing of extended reproduction. In general, long-term credits should replace state financing.

State grants should be used only in instances considered essential and should not be imposed by the unfavourable results and ineffective expenditure of the enterprises.

5. The mechanism of the remuneration of labour should be improved in conformity with the requirements of the intensive development of the economy. The wages of the working people in the state sector of the economy should be formed not only on the basis of the fulfilment of the work norm in the concrete job as it is today, but also on the basis of the final results of the factory or the enterprise. In general, action should be taken to alter the ratio of the basic wage to supplements in favour of the latter by reducing the proportion of the guaranteed part.

6. In conformity with the requirements of economic efficiency and the strengthening of management in the enterprises, the system of wholesale prices can be improved. The changes must lead to the reduction of unwarranted possibilities, fictitious effectivity and redistributions which have nothing to do with the priorities of development and the social policy.

7. The economic factors for the development of agricultural production in all parts of the country should be strengthened. In this context, the state purchase prices should be re-examined with a tendency to raise them and increase the differentiation according to zones, but also to increase the amount of the differential rent drawn from the powerful cooperatives, especially those of the higher type, in which the State has made important non-repayable investments. The state purchase prices should encourage not only the over-fulfilment of the plan but also the fulfilment of it.

8. Adjustments can be made also in some retail prices provided that the products of prime necessity continue to be sold at fixed guaranteed prices at the present level. For some other goods, however, in certain instances the prices can alter, making the factor of supply and demand an encouragement to increase the productivity of labour and fulfil the people's needs.

9. In economic ways, conditions must be ensured to fulfil certain needs of the working people better. The citizens should be encouraged to build more houses with

Tirana, January 23, 1960

their own funds, especially on the state farms, where the work can be organized the same as it is in the cooperatives. In the towns and work centres remote from them, also, the repair and expansion of existing private houses can be encouraged, as well as the building of houses by the citizens individually or in groups by agreement, by signing contracts with mutual obligations between them and the State. Some old estate houses on the periphery of towns can be sold to the citizens who live in them at reasonable prices.

A profound differentiation should be made in the payments to citizens for temporary incapacity to work so that the citizens treated at home receive more than the ones treated at hospital, except in cases of surgical operations and some grave illnesses which make hospitalization essential.

10. The Party instructs that all possibilities must be utilized to achieve a considerable improvement in supplies for the people and to cope normally with the increasing purchasing power of the working people. In the plan for the year 1990 one of the main priorities must be to increase industrial commodities and food-stuffs for the market. Material measures

must be taken and increased efforts made to ensure the food products from agriculture. The collective garden, the small herds and fields must assume greater responsibility for supplying the peasantry. The districts should encourage the agricultural cooperatives to open shops in the towns where they can sell agricultural and livestock products at prices they set themselves with some tolerance in regard to state prices. Along with the struggle for the consolidation of the small herds and fields, certain other supplementary measures can be undertaken such as those envisaged in the decision of the Government on speeding up the solution of the problem of meat.

The Plenum of the Central Committee expresses its belief that these decisions will help the further strengthening of the situation and the economic stability, will give an impulse to the socialist construction and the revolutionization of the country, will strengthen the Party and the unity of the people around the Party, and will further consolidate the victories achieved, the freedom, independence and sovereignty of our Homeland.

THE 9th PLENUM
OF THE CENTRAL
COMMITTEE OF THE PLA

Tirana, January 23, 1990

**THE DEEPENING
OF THE REVOLUTIONIZATION
OF THE LIFE OF THE PARTY AND
THE COUNTRY — A PERMANENT TASK**

*— Excerpts from the speech of Comrade
Ramiz Alia at the 9th Plenum of the Central
Committee of the PLA —*

January 22, 1990

Comrades,

Today's meeting is, in a way, the continuation of the work of the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee. Then we put forward for discussion many questions which had to do with the need for the further revolutionization of the life of the Party and the country so that we can respond better to the present stage of the socialist construction. At today's meeting we propose to convert into decisions those questions and others that the comrades will find necessary.

To facilitate the proceedings of this meeting of the Central Committee, allow

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me to present some ideas which might serve as a basis for a most fruitful discussion.

From the time when we convened the 8th Plenum nearly four months have elapsed, but the international political situation has changed greatly.

In the Eastern countries — in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the GDR, Bulgaria and Romania — great changes have occurred. We notice that, while they remain members of the Warsaw Treaty, these countries are extending their relations with the West, especially in economic and political aspects. They are linking up with the socialist and social-democratic parties of the West, making approaches to the European Union with the intention of joining it, and are strengthening their ties with the EEC, the International Monetary Fund and other Western institutions there.

The Western countries are encouraging the political changes in Eastern Europe. Under the calls for free elections and political pluralism, for the creation of as many different parties and groups, they want to bring about the total destruction of everything that reminds one of socialism. The bourgeois propaganda has proclaimed socialism as anachronical.

Reaction paints communism as a spectre that threatens the people and not the bourgeoisie.

The events in Eastern Europe, in the general meaning, are not unexpected for us, *Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out*. What occurred had been forecast decades ago by our Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, although few were those in the world at that time who believed it. For more than 30 years, as early as the emergence on the scene of Khrushchev in the Soviet Union and with the acceptance of Khrushchevism and later of Brezhnevism by the East-European countries, we have spoken about the re-establishment of capitalism there and have described the process of the return to the bourgeois society as definite.

Nevertheless, there is something new in the current events: in Poland, the communist party is no longer the ruling party, it has become the opposition, whereas the state power is in the hands of Solidarity; in the GDR, Honecker has been removed and an organization called the Democratic Forum is emerging at the top of the leadership of the country; in Czechoslovakia, Hussak has come down and Dubček has come back, and so on. The events that have happened there are of conse-

quence in many aspects which will be analysed and assessed from a new ideological, political and economic angle.

The changes which are occurring in Eastern Europe have not encountered the opposition of the Soviet Union. Indeed, it has inspired and encouraged them, although, in one or two cases, such as in the GDR, events have got out of its control, and in Poland and Hungary the hand of the Western bourgeoisie has made its presence felt more strongly.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Union does not allow the Eastern countries to go as far as making their own political and military alliances with the West, i.e., get out of the sphere of Soviet influence or become anti-Soviet bastions, which is unimaginable, and thus create a kind of «sanitary cordon», as they were before the Second World War. This was the main aim of the Bush-Gorbachov summit at Malta, and on this they found a common accord.

Apart from the euphoria, the events in Eastern Europe have aroused some preoccupation in the West. A number of political problems have emerged such as the German question and that of the future position of the military pacts and economic unions. Not less worrying are

the problems connected with the crisis in the Eastern countries. All the parties, however, are of the opinion that these processes should be stimulated, because, on the whole, they are in favour of capitalism.

After speaking about the character of the changes that occurred and are currently taking place in the countries of the East, Comrade Ramiz Alia continued:

What attracts our attention as the characteristic feature of these events is that they have won the broad, we could even say, enthusiastic support of the masses.

It is natural to ask the question: Why all this? How is it possible that the working class and the masses should become the protagonists and the supporters of the re-establishment of capitalism?

The unfortunate thing about it is that the peoples of these countries saw the revisionist regime, its bureaucracy, violence, economic stagnation and technological backwardness as a product of the socialist system and of Marxism-Leninism, which they now refuse to accept.

It was this very reality of the Eastern countries which antagonized the masses with the state and with the political subjects. The legitimacy of the socialist

state was compromised and tarnished by the hypocrisy of the cliques in power. Socialism, the communist parties and the democratic values which were created in the East after the Second World War were not further developed and enriched. The economic growth and the social emancipation were not accompanied with efforts to perfect the socialist democracy. Not only the state did not become «of the entire people», but it isolated itself from the people and opposed them.

Comrade Ramiz Alia continued: Our Party was right that in its gigantic struggle against revisionism it concentrated itself in tearing the socialist masks, in exposing the falseness of the «Marxist» speculations of revisionism. The Albanian communists understood this and fought with all their power, with all the means they had so as to help people to realize the danger that lurked in the compromising of socialism and of its revolutionary ideology and policy. But the tragedy occurred. We as communists and internationalists, as members of the world army of revolutionaries, made all the contribution we could to prevent it. But this should not put our minds at rest, just as we should not be glad that everything we forecast turned out to be

true, and that we have had our say about it. We must live through this tragedy with pain, but, of course, without despair.

Now we must draw lessons from what happened in the East. We must ask the question and find the answer: why was revisionism born, what were the objective and subjective causes of its birth, delay and haste, errors and concessions?

The analysis should be extended to include the developments in the Soviet Union for a long period of the practice of the construction of socialism there.

Continuing his speech, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

Comrade Enver Hoxha has discovered some of the fundamental shortcomings in the Soviet system which brought about the birth of revisionism. On the basis of his conclusions we adopted the measures for the revolutionization of the Party and the whole life of the country.

Now that many years have passed, that things have settled and that we have seen what were the weaknesses revisionism took advantage of and what weapons it employed, we are very clear about many problems and can better understand what were those mechanisms of the socialist system which ought to have

played a greater role in strengthening the system and which were neglected.

In the Soviet Union there was a general, though not complete, awareness that bureaucracy was growing and that it represented a potential threat. But bureaucracy there was fought not through its opposite, i.e. by enhancing the role of the masses and strengthening socialist democracy, but through strengthening and perfecting the administration and the legislative and disciplinary prescription of norms for the party, state and social activities, and through the enhancement of centralism from above. It is not an accident that precisely glasnost, i.e. speculation on democracy, has actually become the main weapon of the revisionists. There was a vacuum, and Gorbachov and his likes stepped in with success.

More or less the same thing happened with liberalism there. The Soviets tried to combat it mainly through administrative measures. Liberalism has the ability to speculate on the current problems, with the known shortages and weaknesses. It passes itself off as modern and as democratic in the solution of the problems of the time and operates with new terms, etc. In the Soviet Union liberalism was confronted with the dogma and

not with the strength of ideas and arguments. They confronted it with general universal principles and not with the solution of the problems. This created the conditions in which individuals and groups of people, especially from the ranks of the intelligentsia, alienated themselves from socialism and embraced all sorts of ideas which the bourgeoisie peddled to them and publicized. The bourgeoisie found the dissidents and the revisionist cliques found their social basis among them.

All these and other similar questions have to be discussed so that we can ward off the danger of any surprise, despite the great differences that exist between our development and that in the Soviet Union and the other Eastern countries.

It is publicly known that socialist Albania dissociated its fate from the Eastern bloc at the end of the 1960s. And here we must add that our country had set its own course before it did this. The revolution in our country was deep-going. The Communist Party of Albania was created in Albania by the Albanians; its leaders mastered the theory of socialism in the school of the war for national and social liberation.

As long as the socialist camp existed, our Party valued its experience, but in

the process of socialist construction it has always taken into consideration the specific conditions, the tradition, the material and spiritual heritage of the country, and the national psychology.

We say that the known phenomena of the East will not occur in Albania, not because the operation of the external pressure on us is weaker. But the fundamental thing is that we have a solid situation at home, the state power which emerged from the war, has remained the power of the people, the Party of Labour has the initiative in its hands and its policies are in conformity with the will of the masses. The calls from outside for changed and for altering our course will not find support in our country and will not find a response in the opinion and desires of the broad masses of working people.

This is a major political victory of our Party and people. However, without underrating its value, at every moment we must be on our guard. We said at the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee that various pressures will be brought to bear on our country. The time has thoroughly proved this prediction. The external enemies, especially the Yugoslavs and Greek reaction, were the first to give the

signal: they mounted a campaign of slanders and defamation against our country.

The free and independent Albania has been the target of attacks and slanders for 45 years, said *Comrade Ramiz Alia*. Different circles in the West began it, but they suffered complete defeat when the popular revolution in our country triumphed and smashed the traitor and collaborationist organizations of Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti, which rallied in their ranks the main representatives of the exploiting classes on whom the Anglo-Americans had pinned their hopes. This campaign was taken up by the Yugoslavs, who, in cahoots with Western reaction, did everything in their power not only through slanders and propaganda, but also through diversionists, to overthrow the people's state power. Later, in 1960, a fresh savage attack was mounted against Albania. This time it came from the Soviet Union under Khrushchev who accused us «of having sold ourselves to imperialism for thirty pieces of silver». And it is continuing until today.

At any time, yesterday and today, *Comrade Ramiz Alia continued*, the aim of those who concoct slanders and mount attacks against our country has been to reduce Albania to submission, to de-

prive it of its independence, to induce it to change its stands in the international relations, to become a tool in the hands of others and to march in step with them.

Our enemies will certainly fail ignominiously. We will defend our freedom and independence and all our victories, which we have won at the cost of bloodshed, because they are our most precious things, and we will do so with determination, by any means and without the slightest hesitation. Our people have chosen their road of development and will not render account to anyone for this. It is they and nobody else who know what should be done, when and how things should be done so that the process of the socialist construction can advance always ahead. In Albania the people are in power, and it is they alone who are the sovereign masters of their own destinies.

In these situations, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out, in the first place, we must enhance our vigilance everywhere. On the other hand, our political and propaganda work, especially inside the country, but also towards the outside world, should be more intensive. The comrades of the party committees, and those who work in the propaganda, the press

and the radio-television must think seriously about this duty, because it cannot be carried out only with old slogans and arguments or with a formal and bureaucratic style.

Another important direction of our work is the fulfilment of our tasks in the economy. This calls for work, much work by everyone and not words and promises. The plans which have to do with the food and clothing of the people should be fulfilled at all costs. Nothing hinders us from supplying our market with plenty of vegetables, milk and meat; no justification can be accepted for the shortages we notice. The decisions we have taken must be carried out with persistence, and possibilities must be found to advance them still further.

After speaking extensively about problems of the foreign policy of our country and the stands of our state towards some concrete issues of the present-day international relations, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed:

We follow a policy of peace and friendly cooperation with others. This has been our line and will remain so in the future. We have not wanted and do not want isolation. Isolation, shutting ourselves in our own home, as in a castle

under siege, has not been and does not represent our political line. That is what the enemies of Albania would like to see. Therefore, our stand towards the external world should be active, both in relations of political cooperation, and in cultural and economic relations. We are interested in peace and friendship with our neighbours and the whole of the Balkans, as well as in the solution of the problems of Europe and the development of our relations with all those who respond with friendship to the friendship we offer.

Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia dwelt on the question of the revolutionization of the life of the Party and the country, which has always been in the centre of attention. The revolutionization of the Party, he said, is an imperative in the struggle against alien influences and manifestations, for the preservation of the purity of the Party and the people's state power, the communists and cadres.

We discussed these questions at the 8th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party. We are returning to the decisions of this Plenum for two reasons: first, to urge the complete and rapid implementation of them, so that bureaucracy and liberalism, indifference

and passivity will not find a free field to operate. Second, because during the discussion of the decisions of the 8th Plenum, the communists and working people have made various suggestions and proposals for completing them with some new measures which create possibilities for us to further deepen the role of the masses, and the participation of all the strata of the population, especially the youth, in the socialist construction of the country in a broad and active manner.

The strengthening of the Party, said Comrade Ramiz Alia, should constitute our permanent task. The Party is the leading force; the present and the future not only of socialism, but also of the freedom and independence of the Homeland are connected with it.

In the East-European countries socialism was rejected under the slogan of liberation from the monopoly of the communist parties. And pluralism, the creation of many parties and different organizations, became the formula of salvation, allegedly for democracy to flourish.

The many parties in the East have their basis in the profound social and class differences which existed before and were revived and deepened at the

time when the revisionists were in power. The society there was differentiated and gradated, it became polarized until it brought forth to classes and strata with different interests, which objectively could not be rallied in and represented by one party which was not theirs. Now each of these groupings demands to have its own share of power.

We have declared ourselves for the hegemony of the Party of Labour, because we are conscious that this is a basic condition for the socialist construction and coincides with the objective circumstances of our country. If we consider the question on the historical plane, if we return to our past, to the time of the Zog regime, we can say that in Albania there have not been political parties in the strict meaning of the word. During the fascist occupation only were the first political parties and organizations set up. The first to be created was the Communist Party of Albania, today the Party of Labour. From the day of its founding it hurled itself into uncompromising struggle against fascism for a free, democratic and people's Albania. Immediately after the creation of our Party and as a reaction to it emerged Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti. These

two organizations, which represented the wealthy classes and the supporters of the return of the monarchy, did not manage to grow into influential political parties in the country, because, from their first steps, they emerged as collaborationist organizations and placed themselves openly in the service of the Italian and German fascist invaders. Hence, they were anti-national organizations and as such were not followed by the people. On the contrary, the Albanian people, the youth, the women, all the working people in the countryside and town rallied around the Communist Party and the anti-fascist organizations like the National Liberation Front and the youth and women's organizations. On this road, going through the test of the fire in the war for national liberation, our Party won the love and confidence of the masses, which it further tempered in the major struggle for the socialist construction and the defence of freedom and national independence.

In the conditions of our country, the calls of the international bourgeoisie for political pluralism mean that Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti be revived, or that similar anti-socialist and anti-national political organizations be created. But this

would not be an expression of democracy. It means the weakening of the national unity and the creation of conditions for the destruction of socialism.

According to the yardstick of the bourgeoisie, the absence of many parties is allegedly equal to the absence of democracy. This is not true. In our country we have not had many parties, but have had an ancient tradition of the free discussion, the settlement of the people's problems in a democratic way by the village councils, assemblies, the boards of the elderly, people's chambers, etc. Our Party, which grows wiser with the wisdom of the people's knowledge and ideas, has raised this tradition to much higher levels. The direct participation of the masses in the elaboration and implementation of the plans for the economic and cultural development of the country and in the discussion of every problem which interests the people has been adopted as one of its methods of work. It achieves this also through the different organizations and associations such as the Democratic Front, the Youth Union, the Women's Union, the Trade Unions, the organization of veterans, the Writers and Artists' League, the Association of Scientists, and so on.

Naturally, we are not content with the existing situation. The deepening of the line of the masses, which constitutes the essence of our socialist democracy, should be in the centre of attention. And a primary condition in this aspect is the development of democracy inside the Party.

Speaking about this question, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

In continuation of the discussion we held at the 8th Plenum, we ask: in what directions should the work of the Party be further revolutionized?

1. To strengthen the links of the Party with the masses, and to revolutionize its internal life, I think that the Central Committee should commute into binding decisions the idea Comrade Enver Hoxha has emphasized several times that the meetings of the basic organizations of the Party, with the exception of very special cases, should be open. What is the meaning, of «open meetings»? Its meaning is that the agenda and the place of the meeting must be made known, and not only some guests but all working people of the work centre who wish to should be permitted to participate.

By holding open meetings, the activity and the decisions of the basic organization will be continuously and more thoroughly under the control of the working masses, whereas the communists will feel still more the burden of their responsibility before the people. But, at the same time, they will also have the support of the masses when they are in the vanguard for the implementation of the Party's decisions. Otherwise, if they are not active and fail to set the example in everything, they will be facing the pressure of criticism by the masses. The open meetings will be a school not only for the communists, but also for the working masses which will link themselves still more with the Party.

2. The decision for the selection and appointment of specialists and cadres should be further perfected. Real conditions must be created so that the most capable and devoted people are brought to the organs of the Party and the state, and thus open the road to the promotion to posts of responsibility and the elected organs of young people with energy and knowledge.

This requires that the concepts and procedures of the appointment and ad-

ministration of personnel should be changed. About this question there have been valuable proposals in the discussion of the decisions of the 8th Plenum. I will mention some of them:

a) Apart from those organs and cadres, whose election is envisaged under the Constitution, the statute of the Party and the social and economic organizations, the principle of elections must be applied still more extensively. For instance, the managers of enterprises, various plants and factories, the heads of clinics, chairs and institutions and other categories of cadres, which will have to be clearly defined, should be appointed by the superior organs only after the workers and the working people of the work centre have thoroughly discussed the candidatures and have given their approval. Without ensuring this consent, no cadre should be appointed, irrespective of which is the organ that has the competence of appointments.

In this way, the role of the masses is enhanced and the cadres will see that they are answerable before the working people and not before the organs which confirm their appointment. Once we accept this, then we must automatically accept that the collectives should have

the right of removing those managers and cadres who fail to carry out their duties or who do not make progress, which was pointed out at the 8th Plenum.

As for the staffing of some institutions, especially those of culture, science and education; etc., and some other fields, which also have to be defined, we must practice extensively not only the principle of elections, but also the competition, so as to block the way to mediocrity and favouritism.

b) By so acting, the number of cadres who are appointed directly by various leading organs of the Party and the state can be restricted. Thus, for instance, the approval of the central organs of the Party and state will have to be sought only for the appointment of leading cadres, such as vice-ministers and others of the same rank as they, the first party secretaries in the districts and the chairmen of the district executive committees, commanders and commissars of army divisions, chiefs of branches of internal affairs, the managers of central departments and others in similar position. Whereas for the managers of enterprises and other leading cadres of the districts, only the approval of the lea-

ding organs of the districts will be sought. The specialists and other personnel should be appointed by the state, social and economic organs of the work centre or the institute in which they work.

So, the idea is that the smallest possible number of cadres should be appointed directly from above. For all cadres who are elected or selected through competition, the approval of the respective organs is given only after the results reported upon the election or the competition.

The Party, through its basic organizations, has the duty of working carefully for the correct implementation of its norms in this process.

c) There is room for discussion, also, about the question connected with the democratization of the procedure of elections within the Party.

Our general rule should ensure that the leading cadres, those elected to the Party forums, to the organs of the state and to the mass organizations must emerge from inside of them, that the substitute or the chief engineer should come to the post of the director, and so on in turn, and not to have the directors, circulated from one

enterprise to the other, or to seek a candidate in the districts to replace a director at the ministry. Why are all those heads of sections, all those head-clerks and inspectors? If they are not suitable to be promoted to higher posts of responsibility, then why have they been brought there at all and why are they kept in the committees, the sectors and departments of ministries?

At the 8th Plenum we said that the term of election or re-election of secretaries of bureaus of basic organizations of the Party should be reduced to 4-5 years. Suggestions have been made that a limited mandate be given also for people in other organs and functions such as, for example, for members of the party committees and the district people's councils, the deputies of the People's Assembly and members of the Central Committee and others. Would such a thing help to strengthen internal democracy, to enhance the role of the masses, to strengthen the struggle against routine, bureaucracy, subjectivism and other alien manifestations? If, for instance, we decide that at least one third of the membership of the district people's council and party committee and one third of the People's Assembly

or of the Central Committee of the Party is to be renewed at each legislature for the election of councillors and deputies and at every party conference of the district and at each congress, that is, limit the re-election of the same person to 2-3 legislatures, would this not give a more concrete content to the implementation of the policy of circulation of cadres?

d) We all saw how advantageous was the new procedure of the election of people's councillors, which was based on the presentation of 2-3 candidatures for one place. Should this procedure be extended in some cases to include even the deputies to the People's Assembly, and this not only during the debate for the presentation of the candidates, but also during the polls? Of course, there will be a distribution of the votes. What is wrong with it if all the candidates are presented by the Democratic Front?

We must take into consideration what the 8th Plenum said in connection with unity and unanimity. These concepts should not be confused. Unity is not harmed by the exchange of opinions or by the fact that there is no unanimous voting for one candidature. It seems to me that we have to combat this complex.

3. The struggle against bureaucracy, as a condition for the strengthening of our socialist democracy, should be raised to a higher level. This struggle can be waged with success only by continuously enhancing the role of the masses, which constitutes the permanent line of the Party. It is the only remedy against bureaucracy and any other anti-socialist manifestation. The present time and the current situations cannot tolerate bureaucratic stands. Such stands must be dealt away with, and the sooner this is done the better. We must do this, and if need be even at the cost of some sacrifice, because every stage in the revolutionization of the life of the Party and the country requires its own style and people.

The Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have frequently emphasized that the masses should see that they themselves are a creative factor of decisive weight at any time and in any field of the social activity. This becomes a reality when they participate in the drafting and implementation of the plans, but it finds its full reflection there where the principle that the working class must exercise its leading role in society is carried out in practice. An important factor

in all this is the strengthening of the worker control. This is another revolutionary lever which bureaucracy hampers. It is the duty of the Party and especially of the Trade Unions to give the necessary strength to this irreplaceable weapon in the struggle against bureaucracy, favouritism, embezzlements, arrogance and various injustices. And this can be done only if the worker control is invested with all the necessary competences, is all-powerful above everything and everyone, in the way it was conceived when it was first put into action.

The power belongs to him who has the right of decision-making. There is no power without competences. If the working class has only the right of making proposals and suggestions, then it will be removed from the power. Therefore, a series of prerogatives must be transferred from the apparatuses and the cadres' offices to the collectives, to the organizations of the masses, to the councils and collegiums.

There is no need to repeat what was said at the 8th Plenum, but I think that the struggle against bureaucracy should be waged continuously. Therefore, the organs of the Party, and especially the Government, will have to review some

questions such as giving more competences to the base by restricting centralized management and direction there where it is in excess, by abandoning the tendencies to having more and more things concentrated and put within strict norms, by cutting down the number of office employees and people who work in the administration and apparatuses, etc. It is particularly important that we clearly define the duties of apparatuses, so that the role and functions of the elected organs and the ratio in the selection of communists and ordinary people not in the Party should not be violated.

4. The revolutionization of the life of the country and the perfecting of our socialist democracy should be extended into the field of legislation and the implementation and completing of the system of laws.

In this field, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out, the respective organs must study what our practice so far offers and in what directions can we further improve our socialist legislation in conformity with the current stage of development.

Some time ago the Political Bureau recommended, apart from other things,

the need for studying some juridical problems which life has brought on the fore, such as the introduction of legal defence in court, or the exact definition of conditions for the rehabilitation of those convicted for some categories of crimes and penal acts, and who, for a long time after serving their term, behave correctly in society.

Since we are discussing the question of legislation and taking into consideration the extended activity of the state, the difficulties in codifying the legal activity, there are proposals about the need for reinstituting the Ministry of Justice with the function of control over the legitimacy of state acts, as well as the suggestions about revising and improving the law on the courts of villages and city quarters, which should be and act as organisms of social character, that is, should not have the power to pass penal sentences.

Continuing his speech, Comrade Ramiz Alia drew attention to the care that must be devoted to the people, especially when it comes to making their political assessment. It is noticed, said he, that there are cases in which, in the evaluation of a person, his family record carries greater weight than necessary.

The ideo-political and moral stand of the family of an individual has its importance, but his own figure and personality must be decisive. That kind of class struggle which seeks the enemy mainly in the family line is schematic and bureaucratic.

The general line and the economic policy of our Party, *Comrade Ramiz Alia said*, have always been aimed at the construction of the socialist society, without the exploitation of man by man, an order which guarantees the independence of the Homeland and continuously enriches the life of the people. And the results are known. But the developments which open up before us have raised the imperative need of further enlivening the motive forces of our social system, first and foremost, by deepening the line of the masses and perfecting the economic mechanism.

The constant Party line has been and remains that the broad masses of working people, in production and elsewhere, should always be the main subject of the leading activity, so that their initiative and contribution should always constitute the decisive factors for the elaboration and implementation of the policies pursued in different fields. The peo-

ple are masters of the country and of the destinies of socialism, precisely because it is they who do and run things at one and the same time. In everything we do, be it great or small, these two sides of the question of power should go together in unity and at the same pace. This is the essential feature of the socialist order. Isolated work, excessive centralization, manifestations of formality and routine impede the progress of socialism.

In every work unit of production and services, the internal motives of stimulation should be strengthened in conformity with the present intensive stage of developments, in order to give as much as possible and to demand and expend the minimum possible. However, in many cases in our practice these two aspects of the relationships between the individual and the group, on the one hand, and the society, on the other, are considered and treated separately from one another, by loading failures on to the state and burdening it with investments, imports and other expenses. At present, the economic lever we have in force stimulates consumption more than production.

At the stage of intensive developments, which are growing uppermost in

our economy, when quality, productivity, effectiveness, the technical and scientific progress have gained priority, it is becoming more and more necessary to further perfect the constituent parts of our economic mechanism. It must free itself without delay from outdated elements and inefficient borrowed practices. Along with this, it is necessary that we correct some weaknesses and shortcomings that are noticed, etc. Naturally, this is a difficult problem. From our experience and from that of other countries we have learned how we must not act, whereas we need profound studies and reflection to determine what new steps forward we must take and how.

While we demand that the economic mechanism be perfected, we will not renounce democratic centralism, the socialist planning, or those social victories which have a vital importance for the people. So, the need for changes should not intimidate us. The 8th Plenum said we are building a new society, in constant search, therefore, it might happen that sometimes we fail to hit the mark in everything. But hesitation should not bind our hands. This is not in the style of our Party, which has never hesitated to seek new ways

and solutions for development in conformity with the conditions created. It has been and is always innovative, because our science, Marxism-Leninism, is essentially distinguished for its creative spirit.

The Party and state leadership has given orientations long ago about the need for conducting studies in the main fields of the economic relations and the mechanisms that operate in them. These studies have to be carried to greater depths, but at this Plenum of the Central Committee we can discuss the main directions and whether these are really the roads on which we must proceed.

The enhancement of the initiative of the base requires that the centre must give up many of its competences in the field of planning. The question of competences should be seen more profoundly as the road for the revolutionization of our affairs at the base so as to increase the direct responsibility of the enterprises and the districts.

The extension of competences of the base in planning implies a qualitative transfer of the leading activities from the centre to the districts and from the districts to the enterprises, the co-operatives and institutions. The changes we

made in the planning of agriculture should not be seen as a question which involves only indices. It has to do with a new conception of the structure of production and the relations between the base and the centre. Should we proceed in the same manner, also, in the food-stuffs industry, in some sectors of the light industry, in transport, the communal services and in trade?

The base must be encouraged for better and more suitable organization, to reach the optimum conditions for the concentration and effectiveness of production. Wherever necessary and profitable, we will continue to split the enterprises and cooperatives and reorganize their sectors into smaller units. There are opinions that, wherever effectiveness is ensured, we must introduce such forms of organization as is the work according to planned duties, piece work, work with pay per unit of production, etc. Would this help to stimulate production and services?

All the conditions have been created for expanding the sphere of operation of the economic methods and the material levers by abandoning the methods of administrative management, but also by strengthening the scientific charac-

ter of orders and tasks assigned from above in those cases when these are indispensable. A decisive step in this field, we think, is made with the creation of the economic possibilities of the enterprises to really enjoy the independence which the economic and political laws of socialism give them.

In the present practice, the independent economic accounting of enterprises, or otherwise known as profitability system, serves only to cover production expenditure with incomes from sales. Whereas the needs for the extended reproduction, those for investments and circulation means are loaded on to the State through financing and dotations. Management of the activity of the enterprise with the independent accounting system is perfected by studying and examining, according to unified criteria, all those activities which are to be financed from its own income, as distinct from those which will be financed from the state budget. This means that the incomes will be employed more by those who create them. In this way, the interests of the collective will find material expression. The important thing is that people realize that the economic result of the activity of an enterprise and

the balance between income and expenditure is the main thing, is the determining factor.

In these conditions it will be necessary to make an overall review of the whole problem of state dotations, because they are being used as a shield for poor work, passivity and stagnation. There are opinions that dotations should be given only in cases of absolute need, when it is so decided in a conscious manner, and not be imposed by the unfavourable results and the inefficient expenditure of the enterprises.

The implementation of this concept of financing the economy, which is recommended in the studies, would require a number of improvements and adjustments in the field of the pay of working people and prices. The main thing in the remuneration of work is that the wages of working people in the state sector of the economy must be formed not only on the basis of the fulfilment of the production quota in the concrete work place, as it stands today, but also on the basis of the final results of the factory or the enterprise.

Partial measures can help to make wages a powerful stimulus. For example, the present level of wages might remain

unchanged, but we can alter the way compensation is made for the overfulfilment of the plan, by stimulating, according to a multiple system, those sectors in which we have greater interests such as the oil, chromium ores, the export and other sectors. Thus, we can begin on the whole by changing the ratio between the basic and supplementary pay in favour of the latter.

To stimulate the agricultural production in all the zones, those who carried out the study have made the proposal that the purchase prices should be reviewed with the tendency of raising them and increasing the differences in them according to zones, but also with the final aim of increasing the measure of appropriation of the differential rent from powerful cooperatives, especially those of the higher type, in which the state has made considerable investments in non-returnable means.

By making some alterations to the wholesale prices, we must aim at reducing unearned profitability, fictitious efficiency and redistributions which have nothing to do with the priorities of development and with the social and class policy. This will create possibilities for building economic relations which are

based on the real values and contributions by different branches and sectors of production. The desire to make every price and relationship dependent on policies could lead us against the internal laws of the economy.

By intervening in the system of the purchase and wholesale prices, the need might arise, according to some opinions, of adjusting the retail prices, too. The Party has orientated and has worked to ensure that these prices should remain stable. This Plenum can reconfirm that the staple products will continue to be sold at stable and guaranteed prices. If need be, the prices for some other goods, which are not primary necessities, can fluctuate by making the offer-demand factor a stimulus for the increase of the productivity of labour and the better fulfilment of people's requirements.

Nevertheless, *Comrade Ramiz Alia continued*, all these major questions which have to do with the system of financing and credit, with wages and prices, are still being studied. The duty of this Plenum is to express its opinion in principle about the main questions and to evaluate the political, economic and social consequences which ensue from them. As for the state and study organs, they

must hasten their work and delve deeper into the solutions they recommend.

The experience of the socialist construction, especially in the 1980s, in this decade of progress relying only on our own forces, teaches us that to fulfil the requirements of the people better we must further encourage the initiative of the masses. So, we can encourage the citizens to build more dwelling-houses with their own funds, not only in the countryside but also in the state farms, in which the work can be organized in the same lines as in the agricultural cooperatives. The repair and extension of the existing privately owned houses and the building of dwellings in places outside the towns and at a distance from work centres, houses for individual citizens on their own or in groups, by entering into contracts with mutual obligations between them and the state, can be stimulated.

The mechanism of our economy would not be enlivened as we wish if we were to leave out of the attention of the Party and the whole society the relationships between demand and offer, consumption and production.

To make production dependent real-

ly on consumption and on the market requires a careful examination and implementation of economic priorities. It demands more efforts for effectiveness and a considerable increase of the productivity of labour. The means of production are an indispensability and, considering the question in general from the strategic aspect, they develop more rapidly than the consumer goods. But, in the final analysis, the means of production are necessary for the increase of consumer goods for the people. The less units of production are involved to ensure a given unit of consumer goods, the better it is for the society.

Then, Comrade Ramiz Alia pointed out that the increase of industrial goods and food-stuffs for the market is one of the main priorities of the 1990 plan.

Matching the purchasing power of the people with the present and future material sources requires an increase of the food-stuffs from our agriculture. In these conditions, the stimulation of the agricultural and livestock production should be considered as a permanent duty. We have adopted some measures, but we must delve deeper into them. Thus, it has to be understood that the collective

plot of land and the small herds and plots of the cooperativists should be made to produce more for the supply of the peasantry. Only in this way can conditions be created to increase the cooperative's products for the city. But not enough efforts are being made to help cooperatives to come to the city markets to sell their agricultural and livestock products at prices which they will fix at a difference from the state prices.

A few days ago we made the decision that each cooperativist family and each state farm worker who lives in the village must be given animals to fulfil their own requirements for meat. We must not forget that the peasantry has great possibilities to increase the production of livestock, beans, potatoes, vegetables and fruit. Therefore, along with the struggle for the consolidation and strengthening of the small herds and plots, we can adopt some supplementary measures like this one for speeding the solution of the problem of meat production.

In conclusion, Comrade Ramiz Alia said:

Dear Comrades,

The decisions which this Plenum of the Central Committee will adopt are to influence the further strengthening of the internal situation and stability, to give an impulse to the socialist construction and the revolutionization of the country, to steel the Party and the unity of the people around it, to further consolidate the victories achieved, the freedom, independence and sovereignty of our Homeland.

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